Genes and Septs Reunited

History and Genetics Synthesized in the Families of McManus and O'Conor of Connaught, Ireland

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For all my McManus Ancestors.

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Kilronan Abbey

.... And there
Where briars twine across the broken mounds
And nettles grow.
And weeds are rank and high,
I dropped a prayer
For this is where
My father's fathers in their generations lie
Since first the black curse fell,
And Cromwell gave the Irishry their bounds
Of Connacht or hell.
There too among the unremembered throngs
O'Carolan sleeps,
Of all our bards the last,
His fame a swiftly-fading name,
His glory passed
And not more dead himself than all his lovely songs.

Michael Joseph MacManus

1 INTRODUCTION

This book is about two separate, yet associated aspects of my McManus family. The first is a *simple* biological fact, the second, a *complex* history of social change. The former is expressed in their YDNA while the latter is focussed on their social history in the Parish of Kilronan in County Roscommon, Ireland. Both express who our McManuses are; a question I have been asking through genealogical research for the last six decades.

The common aspect, therefore, between my family's YDNA, which traces paternal ancestry, and my family's social history is the idea of tracing origins and understanding the story of where I come from. YDNA provides a genetic perspective, showing the lineage passed down through males, while social history captures the broader context of my family's

experiences, traditions, and interactions within society over time. Both aspects will contribute to a richer understanding of my family's heritage, combining the scientific and cultural aspects of my ancestry.

As an enthusiastic genetic genealogist and the simpler of the aspects, I wanted to show that our McManuses were originally named O'Conor, part of that noble O'Conor Don dynasty of High Kings of Ireland going back centuries, and, after this chapter, the first 3 Chapters of the book focusses there. As a genealogist and student of Irish history I wanted also to examine my family's existence in the Parish of Kilronan from the time they settled there in 1186 and up until the time they emigrated to County Durham in England in the mid 1800s. The next 4 chapters of the book addresses this aspect, and finally a concluding chapter.

For centuries the historical record has held it to be a well-founded proposition that the family names O'Conor and McManus of Connaught, Ireland, are mutually inclusive – they are one family not two given by the impression of two different names. The clear

reasoning for this has come down primarily from the evidence available in the old Irish annals and genealogies written by clerics, often many years after the event had taken place. Accordingly, the authenticity and historical truth of the annals and the political independence of their writers has been widely challenged; and rightly so. The challenge is summed up briefly by the notion that:

> ……genealogy is at once ideology and history. (Krader, 1963:157).

Indeed, it is with great difficulty that any one of us comes to reporting an event from an entirely independent position – we all bring something of ourselves, our politics and ideology to the record. How then can the historical truth be identified? As any police detective will testify; bringing 'scientific' (forensic) evidence to the enquiry will enhance the truth and ensure a strong conviction - so too in any form of historical study.

Forensic evidence was not always available to the family historian; however, history research has been transformed in recent years by the introduction of

DNA testing. No longer need we depend entirely on documentary records to find our ancestors because in the relatively new science of DNA we have a great research tool that can complement the documentation. This scientific advance has the potential to penetrate the notion that genealogy contains untruths of both an historical and ideological nature.

I seek here to provide increased reliability for the proposition that McManus and O'Conor of Connaught are effectively the same family. I have done this through the combined use of historical and genealogical records and the genetic data from a group of relevant individuals.

To attain the reliance that this genetic part of the study undertakes would put the McManuses of Kilronan at the top of the family tree because, as John O'Donovan states:

> No family in Ireland……claims greater antiquity, and no family in Europe, royal or noble, can trace its descent through so many generations of legitimate ancestors. Mr. O'Conor, of Belanagare, after many years'

> study of the original Irish MSS., and a long correspondence with the cleverest and most sceptical writers of his day, came to the conclusion that we may rely with implicit faith on the truth of Irish history from the commencement of the second century……..An earlier or more creditable era of cultivation than that which began with the monarch, Feredach the Just, one hundred years after the birth of Christ, no nation in Europe can boast. From this Feredach, descended in a direct line several monarchs of all Ireland, whose history and exploits have been most carefully transmitted to us in historical records of the country (O'Donovan MS:1891: 3-4).

The second aspect of the study, the social history of the McManuses in Kilronan, is a complex one because Kilronan's social history is complex. It is complex, unlike DNA biological simplicity, because complex social systems have a story. They don't just change over time, but their past plays a big role in how they act now. Any study of a complex social system that doesn't consider time is not complete - it's like taking a picture of a process without looking at how it got there. It's like thinking about how Anglo-Irish culture influenced a Gaelic community without looking at the history behind it.

So, complex social systems are not simple, they have many components and interactions, not just a few. Therefore, Kilronan's history is complex because many components influenced it simultaneously in order for critical events to occur, and my family were present there during these critical moments.

I have picked only some important aspects to study in Kilronan's history, knowing I can't cover everything. Primarily, I will be looking at changes during famine and shifts in land ownership.

Following this chapter, in Chapter 2, using historical documents, primarily from the old Irish annals, I bring evidence to show the unmistakable historical connection between the O'Conors and McManuses.

The need to demonstrate an undisturbed genetic population history in the area of Kilronan is set out in Chapter 3 and academic evidence to show this fact is provided from the seminal work of internationally recognized geneticists.

Chapter 4 looks at the state-of-the-art position on the actual YDNA evidence in the results between the

genetic fingerprint of an O'Conor Don YDNA tester and 21 YDNA testers in the McManus YDNA Project.

In Chapter 5 I turn from the simple to the complex, expressed in the story of Kilronan at the time that our family emigrated to England. Some of my genealogical discoveries are described and return to Kilronan by myself and family is outlined.

In Chapter 6 some of the problems associated with land ownership and how it has affected Kilronan and its people are expressed.

In order to give an account of Kilronan as a complex and dissipative social system, in Chapter 7 I set out 10 necessary characteristics of this theory.

In Chapter 8, in order to convey Kilronan as a complex dissipative system I bring together previous data.

Finally, Chapter 9 sums up the evidence brought and sets out a description of social change which appropriately fits the two main, *simple* and *complex,*

aspects of the study.

2 ONE FAMILY. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE PROPOSITION

The historical record for my proposition of 'one family' draws heavily on the old annals. The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, or The Annals of the Four Masters (hereafter AFM) as they are also known, were compiled between 1632 and 1636 under the direction of Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan priest in County Donegal and later translated by O'Donovan (1856). They are a yearly chronicle of events relating mainly to the more celebrated members of society in Ireland until the year 1616. Likewise, the Annals of Lough Ce

(hereafter, ALC) describe events between 1014-1590 and were copied mainly by the O'Duignan family of Kilronan on behalf of the MacDermot family and translated by Hennesy (1871).

It is necessary from the start to distinguish the O'Conor McManuses from the Maguire McManuses, as it is the former family that I am focusing on here. There is clear historical record that the name McManus designates genealogically from two separate individuals called Maghnus, namely, Maghnus Maguire of County Fermanagh, Ulster and Maghnus O'Conor of North County Roscommon, Connaught. There is not room here to illustrate these distinctions in detail, suffice to know that the evidence available in the old records has been studied in detail by Edward MacLysaght, formerly Chief Herald of Ireland and Chairman of the Irish Manuscripts Commission. He concurs in his seminal work that there are two distinct and mutually exclusive families (MacLysaght, 1978:222).

We leave the Maguire McManuses at this point and turn fully to the McManuses of North Roscommon.

The records are clear that these McManuses are descended from Conor, King of Connaught. The O'Conor (Irish = Ua Conchobair) family, of the Province of Connaught, Ireland, were for centuries, the leading family of the province and their name is written deep in the history of the area and of Ireland generally. They were Kings of Connaught, continuously, from the eighth century and Kings of Ireland for many more centuries. In his accredited work, Byrne (1973:301) sets out the O'Conor Kings of Connaught from the year 925 until the last High King, Roderick or Rory (Ruaidri=Red) who was deposed of the High Kingship by the Treaty of Windsor, 1175. Under this Treaty Rory was to hold Connaught as his vassal and exercise lordship over all the native kings and chiefs of Ireland after agreeing that he pay an annual tribute to the English King.

By the 14th century, the primary stronghold of the O'Conors until the army of Oliver Cromwell took it in 1652, was Ballintober Castle, County Roscommon. The castle was later restored but after the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690, it was taken by William of Orange

and left to ruin. By the end of the fourteenth century the head of the O'Conor family was being termed as 'O'Conor Don', which, according to O'Donovan and O'Conor (1891:152) means 'O'Conor King or Lord of Connaught'. The present O'Conor Don is Desmond Roderic O'Conor, who lives in Sussex, England. Unlike many other contemporary Chieftains who have claimed succession, his genealogy and claim is absolutely undisputed. His pedigree was extracted by Sir John-Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms and Principal Herald of all Ireland, from the records preserved in Ulster's Office, Dublin Castle. According to the Irish Times of 22nd. July 2000:

> ..…it is generally acknowledged that the holder of the title would be the foremost claimant to the Irish throne, if one were proposed.....

Turning to the ancient annals; they tell us that the McManuses of North Roscommon are descended from the family of O'Conor Don and his ancestor Conor, King of Connaught, who reigned seven years and died A.D. 973:

> From him descended Tirlagh Mor O'Conor, the 48th King of Connaught and the 181st

> elected Monarch of all Ireland in 1136. After fifty years reign, twenty as High King of Ireland, he died in 1156. Tirlagh Mor O'Conor had several wives and eighteen sons (AFM).

We learn that the ninth son was Magnus O'Conor of Tir Thuathail (Kilronan), whose sons, in the year 1225, took the surname MacManus. (Book of Lecan (Folio 72, Column 4). O'Donovan and O'Conor (1891:44) qualify the record:

> ....Turlough had....by which of his wives it is not stated.....Manus, ancestor of the Clanmanus.....

Magnus' brother, Cathal Crobhdearg, was the fifty eighth King of Connaught. In 1186, when the Mulveys and the Sheridans had been expelled, Magnus' family had been given the territory known as Tir-Tuathail, which forms the north-eastern portion of the contemporary Barony of Boyle in North Roscommon. This area can now be identified as the Parish of Kilronan. Tir-Tuathail gets its name from Tir-Tuathail-Maoilgairbh, i.e., 'the country of Tuathal Maelgarbh' who was monarch of Ireland from the

year 533 to 544 (O'Faherty's *Ogygia* part 3 Column 93).

The MacManus line continued in North Roscommon for many centuries but by the eighteenth century the pedigree was lost, mainly through dispossession by dominant English conquerors.

From the Annals of The Four Masters there is some evidence that O'Conors and McManuses resided in the Corann (South County Sligo) before they resided in Tir-Tuathail. This is now the area of Coolavin. In the year 1212 the annals tell us that:

> Dermot, the son of Roderic O'Conor, forcibly took the house of Hugh, the son of Manus O'Conor, at Kilcolman-Finn, in Corran. Thirty-five men were burned in the house on this occasion (AFM).

There are many examples which can be taken from the annals providing testament to the status of the McManuses of Tir Thuathail and their connection with the O'Conors. In 1181 the death of Manus O'Conor and his brother Brian is recorded as being at The Battle of the Royal-Heirs (AFM). By 1249

MacManus of Tir Thuathail becomes a settled reference in the annals and it is recorded that:

> Brian An Doire (an oak wood) MacManus, son of Manus O'Conor, was killed fighting against the English and was one of the army, '…...led by the Roydamnas (heirs presumptive) of Connaught, Turlough and Hugh (two sons of Hugh, the son of Cathal Crovderg) to Athenry (County Galway), on Lady Day in mid-autumn, to burn and plunder it.' (AFM).

There are several references to family feuds with the McManus family and their O'Conor cousins, for example, in 1308, when Hugh, the son of Cathal O'Conor attacked his brother, Rory and in the process Manus MacManus O'Conor, and others, were killed. (AFM). A disastrous moment occurred eight years later for the O'Conors and McManuses at the Battle of Athenry in County Galway:

> In 1316 'A very great army was mustered by Felim O'Conor and the chiefs of the province of Connaught……. Melaghlin Oge MacManus' and many others were slain at the Battle of Athenry. This was a disastrous battle for the O'Conor men and, 'In short, it is impossible to enumerate or tell all the chiefs of Connaught, Munster, and Meath, who fell in this battle. This terrible battle was fought on

> the festival day of St. Lawrence, 10th of August. Felim O'Conor was twenty-three years of age at the time. Rory na-bhFeadh, the son of Donough, son of Owen, son of Rory O'Conor was then inaugurated King of Connaught'. (AFM).

In 1318 family in-fighting continued when a large group moved to attack Cathal, son of Donnell O'Conor. Amongst the attackers were Turlough, son of Hugh, son of Owen O'Conor. Cathal was no shrinking violet however and resisted fiercely and with valour. Brian, the son of Turlough O'Conor, heir presumptive to the kingship of Connaught and his cousin Brian MacManus, and many others were slain by Cathal O'Conor. (AFM). Family feuds continued and we see that in 1411 Fergal MacManus, Lord of Tir-Tuathail and his son Hugh were slain by Roderick MacManus. (ALC). The annals contain many reports of intrusions by families into other's lands to steal cattle and in 1460 the McManuses were forced to defend their herd when:

> MacManus of Tir-Tuathail, Rory, the son of Owen Roe MacManus, fully worthy to be Lord of that territory, was slain by Con, the son of

> Niall Garv, son of Turlough-an-Fhiona O'Donnell, and Teige, the son of Teige O'Rourke, while in pursuit of the spoils of the territory. O'Donnell's people carried the spoils with them to Airged-glenn; but, after the killing of Mac Manus, the chiefs of the Clann-Manus deprived them of their preys in that valley (AFM).

That the seat and land of the McManuses was Kilronan is beyond doubt. Accordingly, we find several references to Tir-Tuathail (Kilronan) and reports of deaths. In 1382 Murtough Oge McManus whose father is shown as MacManus of Tir-Tuathail passed away and Manus, the son of Owen Roe MacManus of Tir-Tuathail Maoilgairbh, died in 1495 (AFM). In 1586, 'Toirdhelbhach Buidhe MacMaghnusa of Tir-Tuathail' was hanged on the 3rd. of March at Cruachan by the Sheriff of Roscommon. Apparently, a pardon which he had been granted was disregarded (ALC). Tirlaghe Boy McManus and Brian mac Fergananym McManus, both horsemen of 'Tyrhoyle' were more fortunate in 1585. As the fiants of Queen Elizabeth show they were granted a pardon (Commissioner of the Public Records of Ireland,

1966).

The various historical records referred to in this section have provided ample evidence of the genealogical connection between the O'Conor Kings of Ireland and the princely family of McManus of Kilronan. In the next chapter a scientific element is brought to bear on our genealogical project. Using genetic genealogy and the science of YDNA, any doubts held on the authenticity of the annals are redressed and the accuracy of the historical record as it applies to McManus/O'Conor is established.

3 AN UNDISTURBED GENETIC POPULATION

It is relevant to our enquiries here to test the hypothesis that Connaught, in the west of Ireland, has a uniquely placed geographical location, resulting in a centuries old and genetically unmolested population. Genetically, Y-chromosomal haplogroup diversity in Ireland was studied by Emmeline Hill and others (2000). They hypothesized that the principle of associating Y chromosomes with surnames was a valid rationale:

> Ireland's position on the western edge of Europe suggests that the genetics of its population should have been relatively undisturbed by the demographic movements that have shaped variation on the mainland (Hill et al 2000:351).

In their study, the YDNA haplogroup of men with Gaelic and non-Gaelic names were observed and the populations in the west and east of the island of Ireland were compared. An amazing diversity was found. When the Gaelic named men were further divided it was found that the four provinces of Ireland in which these Gaelic names originated 1000 years ago were significantly different again. The western-most group, Connaught, showed near-fixation at 98.3% of haplogroup 1 chromosomes:

> When the surname-divided Irish data are appended to this cline, it continues to the western edge of Europe, with hg 1 - the putative pre-Neolithic western European variant – reaching its highest frequency in Connaught (98.3%) (Hill et al, ibid).

In contrast to the eastern seaboard of Ireland, which conveniently looks across to Britain and onward to mainland Europe and has been the target of much

historical invasion, Connaught, facing the wide Atlantic Ocean has always been associated with an isolation and 'exclusion' which, for Cromwell at least, was equated with 'hell' (Berresford-Ellis, 1975). This relatively safe isolation of the west had implications for social and cultural as well as religious change. As late as the eighteenth century the Province of Connaught was regarded as the most Catholic part of Ireland and the nature and characteristics of its places and people were considered 'individual'. It is said that travellers who ventured to cross the Shannon River in those days had the sensation of entering another world (Simms, 1958). This is significant, for an undisturbed genetic population really matters to our study.

In the early eighteenth century the ancestral region of the McManus Clan, Kilronan Parish, was claimed to be 'the most impenetrable part of the kingdom' (Simms, ibid). The 3 main villages in the Parish today; Keadue, Ballyfarnon and Arigna, are all within a couple of miles of each other. In the mid 1700's a new road system made the district more accessible

and further improvements were made in the mid 1800's to the roads leading from north Roscommon to Sligo and to the developing Shannon River navigation around Lough Allen, situated at the foot of Kilronan Mountain (Weld, 1832-171-2).

In 1773 Charles O'Conor's survey of the Parish of Kilronan calculated that there were about 1480 people in the area, comprised of 370 families – on average, we can visualize mother, father and two children. (O'Conor,1773:178). According to O'Conor, these people, 'barely procure themselves a subsistence, and are utterly useless to the public' (O'Conor, ibid:378). In contrast to Arthur Young's experience of other Irish parishes, O'Conor's 1773 view of Kilronan displays characteristics of a more ancient way of life than was expected from progressives. O'Conor was describing a cultural state of 'stasis'. While most of Europe experienced the wake of industrial revolution, Kilronan, it seems, was defying progress:

> The women are entirely idle and have no manner of employment. They will not attempt the raising of flax, for which they will give no reason, but that none of their ancestors

> attempted it, and consequently that their lands are unfit for it; but I have this season shewn them the contrary, having for experiment, sown one peck of feed on the banks of the Argnach, and another on the top of one of the driest hills, in a small plot manured last season with lime, and both grew well; the former best adapted for making fine, the latter course yarn. (O'Conor, ibid:376).

O'Conor states that when he suggested growing flax to the Kilronan women they told him that their grandfathers had not grown it, their fathers had not grown it and they would not grow it. The old Gaelic culture in Kilronan was certainly running out of time as the Industrial Revolution increased apace elsewhere. To adopt the language of complex systems analysis here, these people were demonstrating 'Symmetry Preserving' behaviour rather than 'Symmetry Breaking' behaviour the latter which could progress the system positively.

We clearly have here an undisturbed, and resisting, Gaelic population and culture, which was, even at this period of the mid-Industrial Revolution, unprepared to change tradition and was intent on remaining static. But does the genetic evidence support this

picture of an undisturbed culture and population? Hill's findings (Hill et al, 2000) and O'Conor's survey really matters for several reasons. Firstly, they show the population of the western most counties of Ireland, Sligo, Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, Leitrim, represent a genetic purity of the Gaelic DNA haplogroup in Ireland. Secondly, it conforms to the historical reality of that region's non-incursion by outsiders – 'To Hell or Connaught' really expresses this notion. Thirdly, it shows that although a group of surnames carries a strong genetic signal with a place of origin, the correlation between the surname and the Y-chromosomal lineage is more problematic.

Jobling, (2001) notes that for a correlation between an individual surname and a Y-chromosomal lineage to hold several conditions must prevail; it must have a unique origin, no illegitimacy and at the time of surname establishment (circa 1000 years ago) chromosomes associated with different surnames must have been unrelated (Jobling, 2001:355). It is worth repeating; that these findings really matter here because it is likely that comparisons between the

individual YDNA profiles of McManus and O'Conor will reflect the undisturbed haplogroup found by Hill et al, and other studies.

In a study done at Trinity College Dublin of YDNA in Ireland (McEvoy et al 2004) a concentrated area in the north-west of Ireland was discovered where 21.5 percent of the men tested carried the genetic fingerprint which could be traced back to one person – Niall of the Nine Hostages. Niall was a 5th century King of Ireland whose dynasty lasted for about six hundred years in the family of O'Neill. McEvoy et al included in their sample of men some with the name McManus. The northwest area identified was the main powerbase of the Ui Neills, descendants of Niall. McEvoy commented that the dominant Y chromosome markers found in the survey could be traced back to that one person:

What has now become Niall's genetic fingerprint is characterized by the following at twelve YDNA markers: 13 25 14 11 11 13 12 12 12 13 14 29. As will be seen later, this ancestral fingerprint of O'Neill correlates remarkably closely with the unchallenged.

family history of O'Conor Don and the deduced modal haplotype of our Kilronan McManuses and O'Conor Don.

4 McMANUS YDNA - SIGNIFICANCE

Founded in 2000, Family Tree DNA (FTDNA) the DNA testing company, pioneered the field of genetic genealogy **(**https://www.familytreedna.com/). They are the leaders in the industry, providing advanced technology for users to gain further insight into their family history with the provision of a simple mouth swab of DNA.

'The McManus YDNA Project' is a single research project at FTDNA which uses resources and database information to advance McManus family history (Both the McManus Septs). The project is administered by a few McManus testers who are

unpaid volunteers. A particular line of research which they pursue concerns the McManus line recorded in the old Irish Annals as settling in the Parish of Kilronan.

As shown earlier, the McManus family of Kilronan are recorded in the annals as the descendants of Terrence O'Conor (Ua Conchobair) born 1116, High King of Ireland and King of Connaught, from which the present O'Conor Don line emanates. This family's genesis is settled in Irish history; indeed, the last High King of Ireland was Rory O'Conor who, as mentioned earlier, succumbed to the English king, Henry the 2nd.

We also know now that Terrence O'Conor had several sons one of whom was Maghnus Ua Conchobair and that, according to the annals, Terrence gave the sons of Maghnus the area now known as Kilronan Parish. Maghnus's sons subsequently dropped the use of O'Conor and took the surname MacManus, meaning son of Magnus, to form Clan Manus.

In the last few years, the detailed haplogroup; that is, a group of similar haplotypes that share a common ancestor of the O'Conor line, was determined at FTDNA by 'Big Y 700' testing of an O'Conor Don line family member in the Sons of Aodh Group Project in FTDNA. This was big genealogical and genetic news at the time. It had been clear for many years before, however, that the Kilronan McManus haplotypes were close matches with the O'Conor haplotypes, but the Big Y 700 test proved it beyond doubt.

The O'Conor tester pedigree is well documented and widely accepted as going back to Turlough Mór O'Conor (1088–1156 AD), High King of Ireland. The existence of the haplogroup R-BY18179 in the McManus subclade, with an age estimate that aligns well with Turlough's son Maghnus (died 1181), further supports this thousand-year-old genealogy (FTDNA). Consequently, and. most importantly, those men in the McManus YDNA Project can now compare their tests results with the O'Conor tester. The outcomes to date are showing significant

matches, nevertheless, at the present time, there is only 1 in 12,000 customers in the databases who can trace their ancestry to the O'Conor Don line, so this is very rare.

Now, the McManuses tested to the required level, that is Big Y 700, and who can confirm through paper records, that their families originated in Kilronan Parish do not number many; in fact, 2; me and Sean McManus. So, me and Sean can attach this close YDNA match to the O'Conors while having a clear family history in Kilronan. When analysed, the haplotypes of other testers in the group project clearly align with 'Kilronan McManuses' modal haplotype without the paper evidence of Kilronan origins.

Currently, it can be seen, therefore, that Sean and I are valuable genetic resources whose genes can be used as a reference point, or 'McManus of Kilronan' template. This will provide present and future testers, who have no family history evidence to connect them with the parish, strong proof of their origins in the parish. Furthermore, any future McManus tester whose family is known clearly to originate in Kilronan

and who tests to Big Y 700 will also progress the research to a significantly higher reliability level.

Table 1 is adapted from the McManus public project view at FTDNA (Accessed 25.10.23). It represents the test results of the 21 McManus men who have currently tested for YDNA at Family Tree DNA and who are members of the McManus Project at that company. Their individual haplogroups are listed in the first left vertical column. The origins of these McManus men are variously known but as stated, only two of us have evidence of Kilronan origins.

For genealogy within the most recent fifteen generations, STR (Short Tandem Repeat) markers are represented by the horizontal numbers with the identity of each marker above column. STRs help define paternal lineages. YDNA STR markers change (mutate) often enough that most men who share the same STR results also share a recent paternal lineage.

Table 1

YDNA Results of 21 McManus Men

Haplogroup	DYS393	DYS390	DYS19	DYS391	DYS385	DYS426	DYS388	DYS439	DYS389i	DYS392	DYS389ii	DYS458
R-FT194071	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-FT194071	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-FT194071	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-FT194071	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	24	14	11	11-13	12	12	13	13	14	29	16
R-FT405992	13	25	14	10	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	11	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-BY18182	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-BY18182	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-BY18182	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-BY18179	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-PH1344	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-FT411594	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
R-M269	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	30	16
R-M269	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	13	13	14	29	15
R-FT405992	13	26	14	11	12-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16
	13	24	14	10	11-13	12	12	11	13	14	29	15
	13	26	14	11	12-13	12	12	13	13	14	30	16
	13	25	14	11	11-13	12	12	12	13	14	29	16

Table 2, adapted from the public view Uí Briúin Aí, Síl Muiredaigh Uí Conchobair testers at the Sons of Aod, Dal Cuinn, Teora Connachta and the Ui Neil (Descendants of Conn) Single Research Group at FDNA (Accessed 13.11.23) shows the haplotype of the O'Conor Don tester. It can be seen that one of the allies (numbers) differs. A 12 rather than a 13.

Table 2

Haplotype of O'Conor Don

12 25 14 11 11-13 12 12 12 13 14 29 16

A modal haplotype is the most common result for each STR marker tested in a group of results. From this can be deduced the ancestral signature of the oldest known or suspected haplotype for a lineage. The line at the very bottom of Table 1 is the modal haplotype of the 21 Kilronan McManus testers.

Table 3

Modal Haplotype Synthesized

13 25 14 11 11-13 12 12 12 13 14 29 16

Table 3 is adapted from the public view Uí Briúin Aí, Síl Muiredaigh Uí Conchobair testers at the Sons of Aod, Dal Cuinn, Teora Connachta and the Ui Neil (Descendants of Conn) Single Research Group at FDNA (Accessed 27.10.23). The numbers represent one single modal haplotype of three Septs - Kilronan McManuses, O'Conor Don and O'Neil. These three septs are, therefore, synthesized in one modal haplotype, proof of one family.

Having combined history and science into a more complex understanding of these associated names, the evidence persuasively shows that the McManuses of Kilronan and the family of O'Conor Don are people descended from one sept. Such a synthesis has provided important support for the accuracy of the annals relating to the connections between these families, and they can now be read with more confidence. This one sept can be traced far back into Irish history through the records available in the old annals and these narratives are given greater authenticity and certainty.

If we were to choose one early historical moment on this timeline, we could take as representative Niall of the Nine Hostages. Genetically, there is ample evidence to show Niall's deduced modal haplotype, developed in the Trinity College study (McEvoy et al), is applicable to the various haplotypes of the 21 Kilronan McManuses and the O'Conor Don tester as a perfect match. In addition, we have applied the deduced haplotype of the conjoined families, and the perfect match is confirmed.

This is not surprising, when the historical research concerning the undisturbed Gaelic population of Connaught (Hill et al, 2000) is brought, strengthened by O'Conor's (1773) survey demonstrating the cultural mentality of Kilronan's population as 'static', resisting economic progress. If we consider this deduced haplotype against the few mutations, we see in the profiles of the 21 McManuses and O'Conor Don, it is reasonable to accept that these have occurred in the families since the introduction of surnames in Europe began, around one thousand years ago. It is no coincidence that this was the time when the sons of Manus O'Conor chose the name McManus.

In the next chapter we begin to address some of Kilronan's complex history.

5 KILRONAN. SENSITIVE DEPENDENCE, FAR FROM EQUILIBRIUM, ABANDONED AND RECLAIMED.

The first visit to my ancestral place was a profound experience. I felt a lot of emotions on that day in 1985 when I arrived at the old presbytery in Keadue village in Kilronan Parish, County Roscommon. It was a unique moment. I had this intense feeling, like the hairs on my neck standing up and butterflies in my stomach. My sister, Kath, seemed to feel something similar, but we kept our emotions in check, not letting them take over. As we quietly

walked away from Keadue village, towards Crosshill, along the lane with honeysuckle and blackthorn hedges, it felt like déjà vu, like I was surrounded by spirits. But it wasn't a scary experience; it was the spirits of my family from the past, welcoming us back to our home since 1186.

Kilronan is the ancient territory of Tir Thuathail, situated in the furthest north-easterly point of County Roscommon. It is an area of impressive natural beauty where the Arigna mountains host the meeting of the three counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, and Sligo. From the seventeenth century to more recent times, however, this scene of rural beauty has collided superficially with the unfettered activities of coal and ironstone mining - and the necessary scars of human survival will still occasionally present themselves to you as earth-workings on the Kilronan landscape. But years of redundancy, and the natural growth which follows human inactivity, is now restoring the hillsides to their former glory.

This restorative process has inevitably brought with it some degree of economic and social difficulty for

those in the local community – all the mines have now closed. A familiar phenomenon of the ages for Kilronan people and one to which my family were no strangers in the middle of the nineteenth century.

On our approach to Keadue, Kath and I had passed by the Holy Well of St. Lassair as we made our way from Ballyfarnon. We are told that on the day of St. Lassair, also named Patron, or Pattern Day, differences through the year were 'settled' in the hollow on the road that led to Mollymore - Lassair Day had its faction fights. Each year McManuses fought those from other clans, in particular the Gaffney family, - all armed with loaded sticks. These fights won for themselves wide notoriety (Gralton, 1981). The old Pagan culture and practices were difficult to erase from the Catholic community.

One Pattern Day, Bishop O'Higgins arrived from Longford, angry that the Kilronan community were worshipping a Pagan icon in the form of an ancient stone altar: Leac Ronain. He sent for two carts and sledges to Kilronan Castle. There in front of the astonished crowds he had Leac Ronain, broken in

two pieces. One part of the stone was taken and brought towards Ballyfarnon, and it has never been found. The other half was brought towards Keadue and thrown into a ditch. Many years later this part was retrieved and set up at the holy well, now a place of pilgrimage. It was on this `leac', the reputed alter of Saint Ronan, that Cannon Lennon later said Mass (Gralton, ibid.). The community had triumphed in this cultural battle with the church – the old symmetry preserved. If more evidence were needed to progress the observation outlined in Chapter 3; that the Kilronan community consisted of a deep Gaelic culture, this commentary about Bishop O'Higgins and the resisting community is it. Pagan and Gaelic are seen as parallel concepts here.

This deep tradition saved McManus lives. Lassair was kind to the McManus and Gaffney families on at least one occasion. In the year 1798 both families joined the French army and the Irish rebels as they made their way to cross the Shannon at Ballintra to engage the English. On the way the Kilronan rebels realised that if they continued to Granard they would miss the

fight at Lassair on Lady Day. They judged that family honour came before the national cause and so came back and fought at Lasair and escaped the slaughter of the Irish at Ballinamuck (Gralton, ibid.). I find the notion of family honour, indeed, to be a strong trait in our contemporary family. I do not find it too difficult to imagine some of my contemporary family brandishing loaded sticks at the Pattern of Kilronan.

Nevertheless, over the centuries, Kilronan also took strength from the Catholic religion. Sister Catherine Duignan, a member of the order of the sisters of St. Joseph of Peace and a native of Keadue, as one who left home at an early age, remembers her origins and the numerous religious vocations in the area of Keadue alone - numbers higher than elsewhere in Ireland:

> Keadue Village, nestled in its stillness and simplicity between the Arigna and Ballyfermoyle Mountains, has had much to offer the world. Families like the Gaffneys, McDermotts, Guckians, Tanseys, McGirls, Scanlons, Dalys, Whitneys, Beirnes, Guihens, Molloys, McManus', Keaveneys, Finnerans, Duignans, just to mention a few, whose children responded to the call of Christ, gave

> their sons and daughters to bring His Gospel Message of Love to other lands. Yes, indeed, the number of vocations that has come from Keadue Church area down the years is much greater than the average for such a small area - even in Ireland (Duignan,1981).

Kilronan today is also strengthened by its musical past. Turlough O'Carolan was the last of the Irish bards; a blind harper who will forever be associated with Kilronan Parish. O'Carolan was born in 1670 in Nobber, County Meath, where his father was a blacksmith. His family moved to Ballyfarnon, Kilronan Parish, on the invitation of the family of MacDermot Roe of Alderford House. His father took a job with the MacDermott Roe family. Mrs. MacDermott Roe gave Turlough an education, and he showed a talent in poetry.

After being blinded by smallpox at the age of eighteen, O'Carolan was apprenticed by Mrs. MacDermott Roe to a good harper. At the age of twenty-one, being given a horse and a guide, he set out to travel Ireland and compose songs for patrons (White, 2009).He did indeed write and play some beautiful music and it is one of my favourites. For

several years now, The O'Carolan Harp Festival is held annually in August at Keadue and attracts visitors worldwide.

Bridget McManus, a servant of the MacDermots Roe, attended O'Carolan during his final illness and her account of these events, as recalled by her son, is set forth in the Mundey-O'Reilly manuscript. In 1738:

> …when Carolan found that his strength began to fail, he knew his end was fast approaching and drew as quickly as he possibly could to his old home as he always called Alderford, where he was sure of being well received.

When O'Carolan met Mary MacDermot Roe at the hall door, he said to her, in Bridget's presence:

> I have come here after all I have gone through, to die at home at last, where I got my first schooling and my first horse.

The strong religious and musical cultures, however, were fractured by events in the mid 1800s; events, often generally characterised as 'The Famine'. Cultural practices were left behind as Kilronan people dispersed in various geographical directions. Like hundreds of other poor Kilronan families, my family had left the area at this time out of social and

economic desperation to find a more promising future elsewhere. As part of an old Kilronan family, this was to be their first move away since settling there 10 centuries earlier. If a realistic option to stay, had been possible I'm sure they would have chosen that option. But their priority for culture was eclipsed by the survival instinct, and, accordingly, life in Kilronan was, sadly, no longer an option for them.

Between 1847 and 1850, the living conditions for many Kilronan people became harder due to famine and disease. The welfare system consisted then of some outdoor relief and the workhouses at Boyle and Carrick on Shannon, but the system was unable to cope with the excessive numbers who were seeking help.

Table 4 demonstrates the crisis the poor were experiencing at the time and shows the numbers in Boyle Union Workhouse at selective dates between 1847 and 1849: The numbers speak for themselves.

Table 4

Number of persons in Boyle Workhouse 1847-1849

1847		1848		1849	
Date	*Number*	*Date*	*Number*	*Date*	*Number*
2.1.1847.	636	8.1.1848.	690	6.1.1849.	1003
9.1.1847.	699	15.1.1848.	700	13.11849.	800
29.1.1847.	673	26.2.1848.	795	20.1.1849.	871
13.2.1847.	693	11.3.1848.	755	27.1.1849.	900
13.3.1847.	708	18.3.1848.	800	3.2.1849.	902
10.4.1847.	679	25.3.1848.	778	10.2.1849.	900
17.4.1847	702	8.4.1848.	750	3.3.1849.	1147
24.4.1847.	693	15.4.1848.	763	7.4.1849.	1234
29.5.1847.	704	29.4.1848.	778	14.4.1849.	1484
11.9.1847.	342	6.5.1848.	741	28.4.1849.	1593
20.11.1847.	501	20.5.1848.	773	5.5.1849.	**1780**
27.11.1847.	550	17. 6.1848.	800	12.5.1849.	**1749**
11.12.1847.	701	24.6.1848.	767	19.5.1849.	1620
		8.7.1848.	797	26.5.1849.	1650
		15.7.1848.	825	2.6.1849.	1660
		29.7.1848.	776	9.6.1849.	1460
		12.8.1848.	757	16.6.1849.	1650
		26.8.1848.	792	23.6.1849.	1610
		9.9.1848.	846	4.8.1849.	1469
		7.10.1848.	811	11.8.1849.	1383
		14.10.1848.	860	18.8.1849.	1304
		28.10.1848.	908	1.9.1849.	1216
		18.11.1848.	932	8.9.1849.	1051
		5.12.1848.	952	22.9.1849.	888
		9.12.1848.	Full	3.11.1849.	755
		23.12.1848.	928		
		30.12.1848.	975		

It is informative to see the marginal notes in the records made by the workhouse staff during these times (Appendix1)

As shown in Table 5, the deaths occurring in the

workhouse at Boyle were phenomenal during this period and deaths from cholera, were high:

Table 5

Deaths in Boyle Union Workhouse. Adapted from The Leitrim and Roscommon Gazette.

Date	*Deaths in previous 7 days*
2.1.1847.	14
9.1.1847.	8
29.1.1847.	23 (8 infants and 9 children aged 4)
6.2.1847.	23 (10 children, 4 70-80 years. 2 infants)
13.2.1847.	23
13.3.1847.	20
20.3.1847.	14
27.3.1847.	19
10.4.1847.	26
17.4.1847	22
24.4.1847.	35
1.5.1847.	23
15.5.1847.	27
12.6.1847.	20
19.6.1847.	22
3.7.1847.	18
17.7.1847.	9
11.9.1847.	2
20.11.1847.	1
8.1.1848.	17
26.2.1848.	19
11.3.1848.	14
18.3.1848.	17
25.3.1848.	29
8.4.1848.	18
15.4.1848.	15
29.4.1848.	9
13.5.1848	4
20.5.1848.	5
10.6.1848.	12
17. 6.1848.	12
8.7.1848.	7
15.7.1848.	7
29.7.1848.	2
12.8.1848.	4
9.9.1848.	5
23.12.1848.	6
30.12.1848.	5
13.11849.	7
20.1.1849.	7
27.1.1849.	7
10.2.1849.	2
3.3.1849.	7
7/4/1849.	9
14.4.1849.	7
21.4.1849.	9
28.4.1849.	12
5.5.1849.	9
12.5.1849.	8
19.5.1849.	20
26.5.1849.	14
2.6.1849.	6
16.6.1849.	9
23.6.1849.	9
30.6.1849.	1
7.7.1849.	2
4..1849.	10
11.8.1849.	4
18.8.1849.	6
1.9.1849.	7
8.9.1849.	6

Of course, sadness was evident in all parishes during the time. On October 30th. 1847, the Rev. B. Hesner, Parish Priest of Ardcarne and Tumna, adjoining Kilronan Parish, published details of the effects of the famine. From the Destitution Census of Elphin concerning his parish, published in the Roscommon Journal, we can see in Table 6 the sad details:

Table 6

Effects of the famine in Ardcarne and Tumna

Population 8445
Widows, Orphans 1050
Totally Destitute 3491
Died of starvation 463 (since commencement of potato rot)
Died of Disease 334 (consequence of famine)
Total deaths 817
Emigrated 1088
Number of families living on land 463.
Individuals sick at present 230.
The above villages are on Lord Lorton's property.

Soup kitchens were used as a major form of relief during this time. The Relief Commission set up to provide welfare ordered a daily ration of 450 grams of meal per adult, usually a mixture of maize, rice and

oats, cooked to produce a meal, ‘stirabout', of 1.35 to 2.25 kilograms in weight. This was usually boiled in what has become a sorrowful famine icon, a large black iron cauldron. Soup recipes for the poor were commonly found. The following foreword to a soup recipe was signed by Robert White in Kilronan Parish:

> 10th. March 1847. Wm. Soyers Soup Recipes for the use of the Irish Poor. Copied with a view, should an opportunity offer, of this being used for the benefit of the poor Labourers at and about the Arigna Mines, County Roscommon. (Gray, 1995:58).

If one compares tenants and land surveys from 1825, Tithe Applotment Books to 1855 and Griffiths Evaluation and parish records, it is sadly obvious that by 1855 many individual McManus families, like many other named families, no longer existed in the area - the majority having emigrated or died.
But many did remain, and they still continue to survive the difficult economic and social situations which are an inevitable part of their history.

From the account books of the dominant Kilronan landlord, Colonel Edward Tenison, we are able to see

a vivid picture of emigration from Kilronan as a result of the sad events which culminated in 1847.

The tenor of the records provides the reader with a sense of the military precision with which Colonel Tenison organised his tenants for this emigration 'operation'. Those leaving were supplied with flour, meal, oatmeal, rice, and sugar before being transported in carts to Sligo to get the boat for the promised land. Everything was paid for by Tenison. Table 7 shows an extract from his Account Book. Most poignantly, the account finally records, "Six shillings and eight pence paid for hasps and staples for deserted homes".

Table 7

Abstract from Tenison's Account Book

Payments made on account of E.K. Tenison Esquire MP - Emigration 1847

Ap. 21.	50 passengers p. Jarvis at £4.0.0. per adult £200.0.0.
" 22.	20 " p. Tay " " " " " £ 82.0.0.
May 13	80 " p. Mary " £3.15.6. " " £319.0.0.
" "	9 " p. Chas. Richards at £4.15.0. per adult £ 45.2.6.
Sept. 24.	4 p. Hannah Saunders £ 12.9.6.
Ap. 19.	To meal, flower, rice for Emigrants £ 36.2.0.
May 14.	Ditto £ 15.8.0.
" "	For Oatmeal £ 8.4.15.
" "	For Flour, Meal £ 19.4.0.
" 18.	Ditto £24.15.6.
" "	For Sugar £3.1.3.
" 24.	For Meal £1.6.0.
Ap. 20.	To cash to Emigrants for Mr. Tenison's Order £ 6.7.6.
" 23.	To Do to Do for Do £ 2.14.6.
" 21.	To Carmen taking Emigrants to Sligo £8.13.9.
May 14.	To Do Do £9.8.4.
" "	To Do Do £5.1.8.
" "	To Sundry Expenses for Emigrants in Sligo waiting for vessels to sail £17.4.4.
" "	Paid for hasps and staples for deserted homes £0.6.8.

(Souvenir Booklet, 1981).

Hundreds of Roscommon people found their labour was in great demand elsewhere in the world. In the northeast of England heavy industry was thriving and in County Durham coal, iron, and shipbuilding provided an unquenchable desire for labour-power. There, with his brother Thomas, my great

grandfather, John, arrived at the age of twelve, parentless. We always assumed that John's parents had perished in the famine, an assumption that is highly likely. Surprisingly, that was all my father's generation knew of John's origins until I began my research. In the 1980s I found a record of John in the 1861 Census at Crook, County Durham and then, in the 1871 census found both John and Thomas there.

From the 1871 Census I discovered my great grandfather had stated he was born in the village of 'Keadue, Roscommon' and his brother Thomas stated he was born in the village of 'Ballyfarnan', which is about a mile northwest of Keadue. Amazing luck to have found they had both stated their place of birth - as very few census records then recorded place of birth other than 'Ireland'. The brothers must have felt proud to insist the enumerator record that information. In subsequent census' John continued to record his place of birth as either 'Keadue' or 'Kilronan'. If the culture had been fractured, it hadn't been forgotten by John and Thomas.

It had been this exciting newfound information which

prompted Kath and I to visit County Roscommon and the Parish of Kilronan in 1985. We had travelled by car from Durham to Stranraer in Scotland, got the car ferry to Larne in Northern Ireland and travelled south into County Roscommon. It took us about ten hours to arrive, a good deal shorter than the time it must have taken John and Thomas and their kin to arrive in the northeast of England from Kilronan.

The excitement and anticipation that Kath and I had experienced on the last miles of our journey before arriving outside the presbytery in Kilronan was palpable and as we continued to ascend further onto Ceite-Tire-Tuathail (the green hill of Tir-Tuathail), the spirit voices from the past kept murmuring welcomingly. The name of the Ceite (pronounced Keite) is probably still preserved in that of the village name of Keadue, where John had proudly claimed his birth.

Kath took cuttings from honeysuckle which colourfully lined the lanes. These cuttings later took root in our garden back in England and proudly became 'Kilronan in Durham', and my garden today

is still graced by it. Additional mementos: a blackthorn stick and several fragments of coal, were collected before we finally made our way downhill back to the car. Outside the presbytery a chance encounter with Father Masterson was informative and friendly. After introductions he told us, inspiringly, "Yours is a great name here". Nevertheless, my family had to leave there, and, for me, it required some careful analysis to understand why.

We learn from O'Conor's survey in 1773 (ibid) that the only corn or root crops ever cultivated in the Parish of Kilronan were oats and potatoes, and that this was still the position later that century; although vegetables, such as cabbages, were being introduced into the area by the Rev. Mr. Crawford (O'Conor, ibid:77). So, the staple diet of the majority of the population was potatoes and oats, which were apparently not sold-on for profit, as the 'peasants paid their rent by the sale of surplus cattle and pigs'(O'Conor, ibid:375). The potential for profit from crops seems to have been underdeveloped for, as noted earlier, O'Conor informs us that the soil

produced excellent crops of oats and potatoes *earlier* than surrounding counties.

Around this time, we know that the potato and other crops began to dominate the landscape of Ireland. And with the introduction of the potato as the staple diet of the people, importantly, we see a massive increase in population. Over the 50 years between 1790 and 1840 the total population of Ireland had increased by about 3 million. In 1841, 68 years after O'Conor's 1773 survey, the population of Kilronan Parish had increased from 1480 to 7085. That is an increase which had occurred over merely three generations by 5605 persons. If we are to believe the calculations made by the surveyors, this is a phenomenal increase.

By 1855, however, after much famine chaos, the following McManuses were tenants of Tenison on Kilronan townlands: *Corgorman*: Bernard. *Lower Rover*: Owen, Owen, Owen. *Ballyfarnon*: Terence, Martin. *Gubbarudda*: Patrick. *Carrownanalt*: John, *Crosshill*: Patrick, Charles, Terence, Patrick, Patrick, Patrick, Charles, Terence, Patrick. *Dereenavoggy*: John, Patrick,

Charles. *Keadue East*: Patrick, Patrick, Patrick. *Keadue West*: Michael, Michael, Michael. *Keadue Village*: Patrick, Patrick. *Kilronan Mountain*: Owen, Patrick, Patrick. *Tullytawen*: Patrick. *Seltanaveeny:* Michael, Thomas, Philip, Michael, Philip. *Srananooan*: Bryan, Owen. *Timpaun*: Owen (Griffiths Valuation, 1857-8).

We need to understand here what had been happening to land use and ownership. By the 1820's there had been a gradual move back towards pasture and cattle farming and away from growing potatoes, and with it the obvious premium for land on which to grow crops. David Jones' interpretation of this issue is relevant when he concludes that while the growth of ranching was made possible by a land market created by the Famine, it also depended upon the conjunction of other conditions:

> the availability of money capital and entrepreneurship, a pool of expertise in stock raising, and the prospects of profitable returns as a result of good price margins between cattle of different ages (Jones, 1995:85-103).

Around 1848, as in 1857, in the townland of Keadue four landholders with the name McManus existed:

two named Michael and two named Patrick. They each held between two and four acres of both arable and pastureland. It is likely these were the tenant farmer brothers of my great, great grandfather, James McManus, and they had been subletting a small portion of their land to James.

By the time my family had emigrated, as shown earlier in the Griffith's Land Evaluation of 1857-8, there still existed on the Keadue townland two Michael McManus' and two Patrick McManus'. By this time, however, their land-holding area and valuation had increased considerably as land became freed-up as others left, to between seven and fifty-one acres of land at an annual valuation of between £8.00. and £27.00. Significantly, the records now show McManus' as 'herdsmen' as the demand for beef grew in industrialised areas of Britain. By the 1850's, the terms 'herdsman', 'herdsman's cottage' etc. were regularly used in land surveys, while the majority of those like my great grandparents had moved away.

We have here then the poorer Kilronan landless labourers and families of Kilronan dependant wholly on growing potatoes to sustain them, while the land was gradually being extended for the use of cattle production rather than growing crops such as potatoes. Alongside these changes in the use of the land by entrepreneurs such as Tenison, over many years Gaelic culture, law and land practices had not reformed sufficiently and the social population had to dissipate.

Cromwell's cry, 'To Hell or Connaught' had been used as a threat to that population of Ireland who rebelled against his destruction of the old Gaelic system. Within a policy of divide and rule, the alternatives given to these people were death or exclusion from the pale. In 1585, the English, who had long regarded Connaught as a remote and lawless area where independent Gaelic chieftains badly needed to be brought to heel, began to introduce measures designed to annihilate the old Gaelic Brehon Law.

One Gaelic practice, which eventually affected the Kilronan poor and attacked by Cromwell's measures was Gavelkind - the sub-dividing of land among family on the death of the freeholder. This ancient Irish practice created insecurity of tenure and over time the acreage of landholdings became insignificant, making it increasingly impossible for the poorer residents to grow sufficient crops for survival. The attempt to break entirely the hold of the Brehon Law was, however, unsuccessful in County Roscommon, for sub-division of land was still taking place in the 1840's - although by now under a quite different arrangement known as 'conacre'.

By the mid 1800s it was the minority in Kilronan who were able to rent land from the local landlord, Tenison. Out of a total population of about 7,000 in the parish in 1838 a mere 415 persons were lawfully shown as landholders (Tithe Applotment Books, 1838). As in an earlier period, these 415 tenants usually sub-divided their land to kin. These sub-tenants were the majority population of landless labourers and their families and most likely included

my family.

Over time, it can be seen that pastureland in Ireland became much more important. From 1735, only tillage land had been titheable but in 1823, a provision was made that pasture should also be made subject to tithe (Simmington, 1941).

Importantly for the future of poor landless labourers, by 1847, four in every five persons living in County Roscommon were subsisting on the land through conacre (Somerville, 1994:78). In such a system, people had to follow the usual standards to survive. Personal conformity to the dominance or influence of one group or social class over others prevailed: effectively - the landlords over the tenants and landless labourers. This implies a power dynamic where a particular group or ideology holds sway over others. In simpler terms, it describes the control or leadership of one group over the rest.

By this period the population of Ireland had increased to eight million and the shortage of land on which to produce subsistence crops, together with the

incredible population increase of the landless labouring class, was an important factor in the social, political and economic chaos which pervaded 1840's Roscommon (Scally, 1995)

There have been plenty of historical discontinuities in the last two hundred years, but the transformation of the human social world from one in which most people lived as subsistence farmers, into one in which most people live as wage workers in towns and cities, was the first and most important of them. The grounding of these historical moments of human history is to be found in natural history and, accordingly, history becomes, 'a series of chaotic cascades – irreversible symmetry-breaking events giving form to the narrative line of history itself' (Harvey and Reed 1994:389).

We see here the possibility of two important concepts in the model of complex dissipative systems – sensitive dependence on initial conditions and small non-linear causes producing disproportionately large effects. It had been these two concepts which meant that my great grandfather John had to move away, put

simply, conacre and the failure of the potato crop dispersed him and his kin to another place - County Durham.

Fast forward to Kilronan, 1985. Kath and I returned to see Father Masterson and he gave us access to the church records, which go back to 1823. Some are sadly missing. We discovered John's baptism record and confirmed his father was James McManus and his mother was Elizabeth, nee Kelly. I reasoned that as Thomas, John's brother, had been born in Ballyfarnon, he had been born at his Kelly grandparents' home, as Kelly was predominantly a Ballyfarnon name at the time of Thomas' birth. Born around the late 1700s, James and Elizabeth McManus would have been Gaelic speakers.

In 1866, back in Durham, my great grandfather, John, had married Bridget Kearns, from Boyle, north Roscommon. Michael and Elizabeth Kearns, Bridget's parents had also left during the famine years, settling first in Wigan, Lancashire and later in Durham. Thomas McManus, John's brother, had married Bridget's sister, Elizabeth.

The cultural influence of my great grandparent's Irish origins must have been strong, because around 1869 Bridget, and probably John and their three small children, returned to north Roscommon, where I believe they intended to resettle. While they were there my great uncle Thomas was born to Bridget and John in Boyle and he was baptised in the Catholic Chapel. For whatever reasons, however, things must not have worked out for them as by 1871 they were settled back in Crook, Durham, where they spent the rest of their lives. It seemed that the enthusiasm to return to the old cultural places, although strong, was still unrealistic.

No other European nation in the nineteenth century has been characterized by emigration more than Ireland. The conditions which led to this catastrophe occurred within a complex social system which had increasingly become chaotic. In the 1840's the land problem in Ireland, over-population, famine and disease and agrarian violence had reached its social climax and chaos had prevailed for a time.

Since my first visit to Kilronan with Kath in 1985 I

have returned several more times. I went with my eldest son and, later, with my cousin Patrick. On pleasant walks over sunny hills, which Kath and I had first found, we paced out many miles of 'our' turf on Kilronan Mountain and quietly and symbolically reclaimed what had been ours. Indeed, land ownership has often been contested in Kilronan and it is to some history of that which we now turn in the next chapter.

6 KILRONAN AND LAND CONFLICT. INVASIVE LAND-GRAB, AGRARIAN VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM

In the 1600's title to land became a cause of great worry to Freeholders like the McManuses. The six counties of Ulster and County Leitrim had already been planted by the English in what was legally known as the Composition of Ireland, which involved the conquest of Ireland by the English and the colonization with mainly Protestants who were given the legal right to the land of the Catholic community.

County Roscommon looked like suffering the same fate. Things became very serious indeed for the transplanters when, through a legal quibble, the clear title conveyed in the Composition was declared null and void. Already vast tracts of the Barony of Boyle had passed into the possession of settlers. Landholders in Ireland became very concerned and there was great unrest.

Being short of money and wanting no trouble James 1 decided to defuse the situation by giving a grant of title to every Freeholder in Ireland. In Boyle Barony a total of ninety-one Freeholders received Letters Patent confirming title to their land. The ninety-one actually represented only half of the Freeholders but the other half could not afford the heavy expense of registering, so they formed associations and had their individual properties registered collectively to save expense. This could have led to trouble later, but in the event, it made no difference to either group because, like the Composition Grants, those of James 1 were also declared null and void on yet another quibble - for the clerks in London completely forgot

to enrol the Freeholders in the register (Mattimoe, 1992)

Under the Patent Rolls of James 1 of 1617 the Irish grantees in Boyle Barony contained 8 McManuses whose addresses were at Crosbane, Drumsillagh, Ardcallen, Lurgan (Kilronan), Glentawlaght and Tawlaght (Mattimoe, ibid.).

The following is adapted from The Calendar of The Patent Rolls of The Chancery of Ireland in 1617 by James 1st, who had come to the throne in 1603.

> Grant from the King to the following persons…… to Bryan McDermott of Carrigg esq. - Roscommon Co. In Boyle Barony (hereafter mentioned various surnames and townlands) …….
>
> to Teige Leigh McManus, Ferral Fen McManus, William Duff McManus, Manus Reogh McManus and Dermot Darrow McManus, gent. Carrowdrommore, 1 qr; Drumsillagh, half cartron, Tawlaght, half cartron, Derrinegalleague one third cartron, saving the said Bryan a rent of £1:8:5……...
>
> to Rory McManus of Gleantawlagh, gent. Dirrenvoggy and Cosserwagh, one cartron

each; saving the said Bryan a rent of eleven shillings thereout……...

to Tirlagh McManus of Crosbane, gent. the cartron of Crosbane, saving the said Bryan a rent of three shillings and fourpence thereout…….

to Cormock McManus of Lurgan, gent. the half cartron of Lurgan in Glentolagh; Gareneplay, one cartron saving the said Bryan a rent of two shillings and seven pence halfpenny and the said Rory McManus and his heirs a rent of one shilling and three halfpence…….

to Dermot Oge McManus of Ardcallen, gent. Ardcallen, half cartron Aghaboy, saving thereout to said Bryan a rent of two shillings and two pence halfpenny and to said Rory a rent of eleven pence…...

to John McManus of Lurgan, gent. one fourth of the cartron of Lurgan in Glentolagh: Aghanecloigh, quarter cartron saving thereout to said Bryan a rent of ten pence and to said Rory a rent of four pence halfpenny.
(Patent Rolls, 1617:332-333).

It will be found today that a surprising number of families still live on the lands occupied by their ancestors hundreds of years ago. Evidence of continuity to the present day may be found in the

Census of Ireland 1659, Census of the Diocese of Elphin, 1749, Tithe Applotment Books 1832, Griffiths Evaluation 1854 and local parish records.

Cromwell had arrived in Ireland in 1649 and after a short campaign of unprecedented ferocity crushed all organised opposition in Leinster and Munster. The following May he departed for England leaving resistance to continue in Connaught for a further two years. On 14th. July 1652, Articles of Surrender for the Connaught Forces were signed in Galway. Among the signatories was Colonel Terence MacDermot. A month earlier Captain Hugh MacDermot had surrendered Carrick-on-Shannon to Commissary General Reynolds. Colonel Terence MacDermot had to give an undertaking that the Rock (MacDermot's Castle, on Lough Key/Ce) "shall not be prejudicial to the State" - by now a Protestant State.

The following year, Roscommon, by Act of Parliament, was reserved for the Irish Nation. It would be used to accommodate those political and religious dissidents ordered "To Hell or Connacht". It is not difficult to imagine the horror with which this

news was received throughout the county. Parliament again found itself under heavy pressure from two strong groups - those who had loaned money to the English government to finance war and who wanted their money reimbursed, and soldiers who were clamouring for land promised in lieu of wages gone unpaid for years.

Confiscation of land by the English, therefore, became a matter of urgency. It resulted in the policy summarised in that well-known phrase, "To Hell or Connacht". Those guilty of opposing Cromwell, when not subjected to more extreme penalties, were awarded the lesser punishment of losing their entire estates and transporting to Connaught where, depending on their degree of guilt, they were reprised with one third or two thirds the acreage of what they had lost elsewhere. Of the ninety-two native Freeholders of Boyle who were listed in 1617 only sixty-one were left by 1641 (Mattimoe, ibid).

When finally, the Cromwellians were finished in Boyle Barony the landowners numbered eleven and their combined property had diminished to over 4,000

acres. Chidley Coote, was granted over 3,800 acres in county Roscommon in 1674 (Ireland's Landed Estates, online). It was Coote whose land - grab dispersed the McManuses in Kilronan and many moved on to poorer quality land on the hillsides. It can be seen in the census of landowners in Kilronan over the years how the Gaelic families of McManus and their neighbours McDermott Roe had their landholdings reduced due to their opposition to the English state invasion and land - grab:

> In 1617, there were eight McManus landowners and twenty McDermott Roe landowners in Kilronan parish. In 1641, there were nine McManus landholders and three McDermott Roe landholders and by 1660, there was only one McDermott Roe landholder and no McManus landholder. They must not have supported Cromwell or Charles the Second (Kilronan Then and Now Committee, 2010:11).

In Table 8, using the MacDermots, MacDermot Roes and McManuses as examples of historical Gaelic family landowners in the Barony of Boyle in 1617, 1641 and 1660, it can be seen that those who had vehemently fought to retain their cultural and

religious heritage were deprived of their last vestiges of power:

Table 8

3 Examples of Declining Landholdings in Boyle Barony

Landowners.	**1617**	**1641**	**1660**
MacDermots	25	23	3
MacDermot Roes	19	3	1
MacManuses	7	9	0

(Adapted from Mattimoe, 1992:126)

Nevertheless, favouritism towards Catholics in England during the reign of James II was also seen in Ireland through his appointed Viceroy, the Duke of Tyrconnell. This policy had an impact in Boyle, where the original corporation, made up of settlers, was forced to surrender their charter and disband. A new charter was then established, which included both local individuals and settlers, regardless of their religious affiliation.

This pro-Catholic stance generated fear among Protestants, leading them to prepare for war against

James II. Ultimately, his Catholic army was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne in 1689. The McManus family, along with other families such as O'Conors, O'Duignans, Dillons, Costellos, O'Kellys, and Reynolds, had been represented in James II's army (Mattimoe, ibid 132).

By the mid 1800s Colonel Tenison of Kilronan Castle owned 16,915 acres in Kilronan while MacDermott roe of Alderford (Ballyfarnon) owned 2,505 acres. At this period O'Conor Don of Clonallis House, Castlerea owned 10,467 in the county (Coleman, 1999:9).

At this time agrarian violence was common and can be seen in The House of Commons Reports, abstracts of police reports of some of the principal outrages in County Roscommon during 1845. There are a total of 237 incidents in the list of that year in the whole of the county. But it is worth noting that these are only 'some' of the outrages. They are invariably concerning attacks on premises where masked men force their way in and steal firearms and

make future threats and swear the inhabitants to do their bidding (false oaths). When you look at the whole list for this year alone you cannot resist thinking of a Mafia type environment.

The reports, wrongly, state that the offences detailed in these lists are unconnected with land. Murders and homicides are not included. Threatening notices (not followed by any overt act) are also omitted. These do not include the run of the mill thefts, assaults etc. Coleman, however, points to the incontrovertible fact that these were offences concerning land. These abstracts provide a good insight into the terror of violence which pervaded the region and based on a power struggle between classes. Some of these incidents occurred in Kilronan (Appendix 2).

The culprits were members of secret societies, such as the 'Whiteboys' and 'Molly Maguires', who were, ostensibly, acting as unofficial law enforcers for the poor. Any person who 'goes against the regulation of the parish' was warned by these men, often through showing the potential victim a picture of a gun and a coffin (House of Commons. Outrage Reports,

County Roscommon, 1842). In June 1845, the situation was so bad that Molly Maguires were reported at Ballyfarnon and troops were stationed in the village in consequence. Several murders of landlords took place during this period.

Such an analysis extends to the deviant individual using violence, threats, and terror to accomplish objectives which aim to redirect community behaviour and, accordingly, match the needs of the local environment. Always at the edge of cultural legitimacy, nursing plans and paradigms that will perhaps bring chaos to what is, acting in the name of a new order yet to take form, these secret societies were the new revolutionary instruments of chaotic transformation (Harvey and Reed, 1994:405). Following Prigogine, (1977), Artigiani (1987:261) alludes to this revolutionary aspect within dissipative structures by comparing the life cycle of larvae and revolutionary terrorism as an effect on dissipative structures.

The larvae survive by creating the boundary conditions of the organism, which in turn determine

the evolution of the organism. Revolutionary terrorism may be the larval stage of national life during the modern period. Through foreign wars, revolutionary terror establishes the territorial limits of the nation. Through internal violence, it imposes a new set of behaviour patterns on the population. By drastic action it purges antiquated institutions and lays foundations for new ones that will preserve the national structure (Artigiani, 1987).

But the objective was hardly met – it back-fired as the majority of poor left or died. Terrorism is often, however, a long-term commitment and, accordingly, it may not be so surprising to see methods violating purposes.

As well as redirecting community behaviour, agrarian violence sought to affect patterns of thought. And it is here that its agitations are likely to have had most effect. The outrages of the 1840's, accordingly, acted on the mind-set of the population, especially the better-off. In this respect, to direct the trajectory of the poor, either into the life hereafter or to another place, was helped by the wild-card element, which

added flexibility to the message that was given of the crisis.

As described earlier with regard to O'Conor's research in a society moving slowly from the old Gaelic culture, where Kilronan inhabitants resisted progress and where Tenison affected the population of his tenants by assisting their emigration, the dissipative social systems model allows individual and collective local actors to exert a significant, spontaneous, morally autonomous, and unpredictable role in the development of their societies through creative actions at critical times.

Like Tenison, in 1848 James Kirkwood, landowner, of Woodbrook in the north Roscommon parish of Ardcarne stood powerfully at the intersection of institutional life. A Poor Law Guardian, his creative power extended beyond land ownership. His symmetry-breaking actions during that year were clearly calculated to break the cultural status quo tradition of tillage farming and land division affecting poor cottiers residing on his land, which is adjacent to Kilronan. Kirkwood's objective was to develop the

land for grazing cattle. But this could only be done by removing tenants, their houses and the dividing walls of the fields which produced their subsistence. A witness of the times recalls how house roofs and walls were tumbled and tenants evicted:

> In the teeming sleet and snow the people were cast out to die on the road. Some few that had strength won through to America and more reached the poor house of Carrick, but the poorhouse was already filled, and many died outside it lying against the walls (Thomson (1974:177-8).

Such individuals as Tenison and Kirkwood stand at the intersection of institutional roles; economy, politics, family, and religion. Their creativity is developed or suppressed by the social situation in which they operate. It is "…struggling against 'what is' in the name of 'what ought to be' " (Harvey and Reed, 1994:405) and continually threatens the status quo of what, in Kilronan's case, was an economically static Gaelic community.

As the economic situation worsened tenant farmers found it increasingly difficult to pay landlords their rents. Thousands of tenants were evicted in Ireland.

Eviction had been an increasing phenomenon for many years before the famine period. On 26th May 1843, Boyle Poor Law Guardians, consisting of William Phibbs of Seafield, Esq. in the Chair, Captain Robertson, Captain Lloyd, Mr. Frazer and John Conimee Esq. had nearly concluded the business of the day when the parish priest of Boyle, the Rev. Joseph Tucker arrived at the gate of the workhouse with a crowd of persons who presented a memorial of evicted tenants to the Guardians. They wished to 'humbly' show:

> That Memorialists and other tenants have been turned off Lord Lorton's large estate; 24 families having been deprived of their holdings in Leam, 20 in Ardsallagh and Coonagranshee, 11 in Drimineen, 9 in Cuiltebranagh, 14 in Culteereaghton, 12 in Curnagree and Curnamealtha, all in the parish of Boyle; 26 families have been turned out in Templevanny in the Parish of Keash, and 55 families in the parish of Aughana. (House of Commons Enquiry, dated 29th. June 1843, No. 13,056. D/43).

The story of Kilronan over the years has clearly been a systemically complex one. The system contains social, economic, religious and ecological

components; however, the system is not only complex, but also dissipative. It is dissipative because the social component (population) ebbs and flows due to the effects of the other components interacting at moments of crisis. Human population and economic security dissipate at times of system failure, as it did during the famine years, and earlier when England invaded and reset land ownership.

In the next chapter, to assist the reader's understanding of social change in Kilronan, I set out some characteristics of complex, dissipative systems.

7 A THEORETICAL MODEL OF SOCIAL CHANGE: TEN ELEMENTS OF A COMPLEX DISSIPATIVE SYSTEM

No simple definition exists of the evasive concept of complexity. We can think of complex systems as having many possibilities, but not all of them happen. Useful attempts at characterization do exist in the work of reputable writers and, to provide a general description, I draw heavily on one of them here (Cilliers, 1998:2) and offer the following ten components.

1. Complex systems are made up of many parts.

When there are only a few parts, we can usually understand how they behave using regular methods. But when there are a lot of parts, the usual methods are not helpful for understanding how the system works.

2. A lot of things are needed for a complex system, but just having a number of elements alone isn't enough. For example, the sand on a beach isn't a complex system because the grains don't interact with each other. A complex system is one where the elements interact, and these interactions change over time. The interactions can be physical, but they can also involve sharing information.

3. In a complex system, the elements all interact with each other in many different ways. But the behaviour of the system doesn't depend on the exact number of interactions each element has. If there are enough elements in the system, even elements with fewer interactions can do the same job as elements with lots of interactions.

4. The way the elements interact in a complex system

is different from regular interactions. It's called non-linear because it doesn't follow a simple, straight-line pattern. Non-linearity means that even small things can cause big effects, and vice versa. This is important to understand when looking at the different crises in Kilronan's history.

5. The way things affect each other usually happens up close, like getting information mainly from nearby things. It's rare for things far away to have a big impact because of practical limits. But even with this short reach, the influence can still spread widely. The path from one thing to another is often short, so the effect changes as it goes. It can get stronger, weaker, or different in various ways.

6. In how things affect each other, there are loops. What happens can bounce back and influence itself, either right away or after a few steps. This bouncing back can be good, making things better, or bad, making things worse. Both types are important.

7. Complex systems usually connect with their surroundings. It's often hard to say where a complex system starts and ends. Instead of being a feature of the system, the system's boundaries depend on why we are describing it, and that can change based on who is looking. This is called "framing." Systems that don't interact much with their surroundings are usually just complicated, not really complex.

8. Complex systems work in situations that are not balanced, or described another way, “far from equilibrium”. They need a steady stream of energy to stay organized and survive. Being in balance, or equilibrium, is like saying the system is dead.

9. Complex systems have a story. They don't just change over time, but their past plays a big role in how they act now. Any study of a complex system that doesn't consider time is not complete – it is like taking a picture of a process without looking at how it got there. It's like thinking about how Anglo-Irish culture influenced a Gaelic community, like Kilronan’s, without looking at the history behind it.

10. In a complex system, each part doesn't know everything about the whole system. It only reacts to the information it has nearby. This is really important. If every part knew everything, each part would have to be super complicated, which is either impossible or a strange idea that one part can know everything. Complexity happens because simple parts interact in interesting ways based on the limited information they have. So, when we study a complex system, we look at how the parts work together, not just at each part by itself. The complex structure comes from how the parts interact.

We can illustrate these characteristics through some examples. Consider a snowflake. From a distance it appears to be a pretty simple object, but when we examine it closer it reveals remarkable detail. The snowflake is arranged hexagonally with each of the six 'branches' showing an elaborate and beautifully patterned structure. Although all snowflakes share this form, every specific one is different. A snowflake consists of a large number of elements (water molecules) interacting through its crystalline structure.

Each molecule is influenced only by local information (there is no external decision as to what the position of the molecule must be in the snowflake), but the relationships between the molecules are fixed. There are no real feedback loops and there is no evolution (except perhaps decay). As far as its structure is concerned, it is not really an open system. It is in temporary equilibrium, cannot adapt to its environment, and therefore quickly loses its structure.

A snowflake, although wondrously complex in appearance, is, therefore, only complicated.
To frame our description, we have to decide what our 'distance' from the system will be: in other words, what level of detail are we going to consider? If we stand far away, we could only consider, for instance, the activity of large financial institutions - banks, large corporations, even countries. Obviously, a lot of smaller detail will get lost in the process. If we are going to examine the system in microscopic detail, we may have to keep track of the status of every individual penny. In that case we will run the risk of all meaningful patterns being obscured by the buzzing

activity at the lower level.

8 KILRONAN AS COMPLEX AND DISSIPATIVE. PROFIT ECLIPSES PEOPLE AND THE SUN IS ECLIPSED BY THE WIND

Because of the critical impact that the famine years had on the Kilronan community, it would be remiss to ignore the dominant historical impact of 'socio-ecological' succession in any historical narrative of the Parish of Kilronan and its inhabitants. Kilronan's capacity for energy production, in the sense of 'energy as solar-based commodities of all descriptions', and indeed, energy failure, really matters to us here in an historical sense. This is because energy has both increased and reduced the population of Kilronan at

certain historical moments, as it did also in Crook, County Durham, where our McManuses emigrated to (McManus, 2004). (McManus, 2023), (forthcoming)). Accordingly, the brief period covered in this Chapter has a central theme which focuses on the mutually exclusive matters of the free-energy resources of Kilronan and the evolution of its emigrant people.

I want to show here the social and environmental system of Kilronan as complex and dissipative (McManus, ibid.), and how this has been due to the complexity of its social, economic, political and ecological environment. I use the term 'ecosocial' (Lemke, 2000) to describe this complex, multi-scale, self-organizing system analysis of interdependent processes/practices (including the participants in these processes) that transfer and transform matter, energy, and information.

To say that systems like Kilronan are complex and dissipative means that they are not self-contained but must interact with the environment of which they are a part. More locally, however, they receive energy

from the environment and must dispose of waste products to it. We are dealing here in a particular sort of history – one which uses the language of social and environmental chaos and complexity. Kilronan was, and still remains, a potentially chaotic and complex social and environmental system. Kilronan's primary energy was solar. People grew things and lived on the stored energy generated, returning 'all' waste products to the soil. From Charles O'Conor in the 1700's we acquire an insight into Kilronan's remarkable agrarian conditions:

> …. whether from the richness of the soil, or from the sun's being reflected with more violence from the sides of the mountains in this valley and district, oats ripen here near 3 weeks sooner than in any part of the neighbouring counties (O'Conor, 1773:376).

Kilronan's only other energy source was also ultimately solar – the people cut turf, dried it and burned it. Turf (peat) is simply, stored solar energy. And as 'everything' went back into the soil, the peat's ash was added as a fertilizer too. McManus' have been part of this history for many centuries. In Durham, substitute 'coal' as the main solar energy, to which

Kilronan emigrants were attracted. An anecdotal story told by inhabitants of County Durham which I had often heard was of the emigrant Irish arriving and asking to be directed to Bankfoot Cokeworks, Crook. Bankfoot was renown worldwide as producing the best coke for steel production, coke which was produced from what was claimed as, the best coking-coal in the world, mined in the Crook area. John McManus spent his entire working life at Crook, working as a Coke Drawer at the coke ovens there. His work tools were uncomplicated, consisting mainly of a long-handled rake to remove the coke from the furnaces.

So, ecosocial systems like those of Kilronan and Crook organize themselves around renewable energy use - solar energy and earth deep heat. Ecologically, this type of self-organizing system results in 'pulsing' between storage and release of energy in the form of nutrients and biomass. Storage and release occur at multiple spatial and temporal scales. In the townlands of Kilronan, therefore, some storages were renewable, such as fresh water in lakes, or annual grasses, or

seasonal insect populations or, importantly for our study, the agricultural system which depended almost entirely on the potato crop.

Other storages, however, were slow-renewable - topsoil, trees, which are consumed by intensive human use and catastrophes. These storage types only renew over many years. It is becoming increasingly recognised that 'pulsing' is a part of self-organizing ecosystems, as in the many known fire-adapted ecosystems.

We perceive as non-renewable, coal, oil, or metals. All life, at any scale, is said to organize around these renewable, slow-renewable, and non-renewable stores of energy and resources. What is interesting is that slow-renewable resources have set real limits to the growth of human populations in pre-history and historical times. The consumption of these storages of solar and earth energy have been implicated in the expansion of state societies and in their collapse or less dramatically, in the waves of use and abandonment of landscape by agriculturalists, pastoralists, or hunter-gatherers. The comparison here

with Kilronan's agricultural history is palpable.

Humans are not alone in being constrained by resources. Put more generally, pulses at larger and smaller temporal and spatial scales will limit the size of all biological populations. This occurs locally to human populations and has also occurred more globally at times, such as, plague, drought, earthquakes, El Niño, hurricanes. The human difference is that at short temporal scales in evolutionary time, we have modified our ability to capture and use additional environmental storages of resources, and our global population size has pulsed to its current large number.

For the hundred years before the famine most of the people of Kilronan had sustained a lifestyle which was materially very poor, but they were able to survive by growing high calorie carbohydrate crops, especially potatoes. Then, they were effectively, subsistence gardeners who depended on solar power to survive.

Between 1750 and 1850, however, this old subsistence culture was moving rapidly on a collision

course with a new culture of agrarian capitalism – and 'profit' was about to eclipse people on the list of social priorities. The Industrial Revolution demanded greater food production in order to feed the large numbers of the new working classes who had moved from the rural to the urban. Such changes required the cooperation of capitalist entrepreneurs like Kilronan landlord, Edward Tenison and those from the academic classes, like Denis O'Conor, who had the wherewithal to investigate the potential for capitalist development.

Eventually, Tenison kindly facilitated the emigration of hundreds of his tenants, but he also benefitted afterwards from the freeing-up of pastoral land which was thereafter used for cattle farming. At a time when the Industrial Revolution in England and elsewhere was demanding a high protein diet to. sustain the increase the power of labour. The innovative ability of such men to change the old order in Kilronan, for good or bad, cannot be emphasised sufficiently. Their originality influenced every aspect of the system and everyone within it.

The new order experienced by poor immigrants in their new industrial locations included many social improvements including the certainty of income to allow the purchase of energy producing commodities like Roscommon beef.

O'Conor's 1773 survey of the Parish of Kilronan, accordingly, must be seen as a capitalist necessity to expose the old order of things as an apparent culture of what he described as 'idleness' but was really part of a deep Gaelic culture of stasis. O'Conor wanted to take Kilronan by the neck and shake it at a time when the Industrial Revolution was taking the west by storm.

Today things are a little different. Although solar power is still important in the daily lives of the population, an entirely modern phenomenon is now evident on Kilronan's ancient skyline. A cluster of ten wind turbines tower proudly along the summit of Kilronan Mountain, producing 14,238,789 kilowatts of electricity annually for the local population. Dependency today has moved to wind-power. In a sense, the sun has been eclipsed by the wind. It really

matters in an historical sense how this evolution of power, and along with it 'communities', occurred in Kilronan.

The immediate environment of a complex dissipative social system is an enriched free-energy one. As well as Kilronan, other examples of free-energy environments would include the rich fossil-fuel environment where I live in the northeast of England and the inherently solar one that existed in rural Ireland during the historical periods outlined here. It is worth repeating; that the slow-renewable resources which characterise this energy have a potent capacity to increase populations, or alternatively, limit them.

Today, Kilronan has also moved into a future based on global tourism, which draws on the musical component of its traditions and its O'Carolan heritage; but it still harnesses energy from its natural environment, which can be a very windy one at times. Wind-power has evolved alongside a dwindling population which has been chaotically dispersed over the centuries by the complex events its social and environmental system has experienced. These

historical events and experiences all resonate in the free-energy system crucial to Kilronan's survival.

9 CONCLUSIONS. DYNASTIC INHERITANCE, RECURRING INSTABILITY AND SENSITIVE DEPENDENCE. SMALL CAUSES HAVE LARGE EFFECTS

When I began my research journey into family history six decades ago it was because of a fascination at what I heard, saw and, most importantly, what I did not know. There have been two outstanding discoveries for me. The first was finding the place where John McManus was born in Ireland, a place where the

McManuses had existed for centuries. Secondly, I discovered that the Kilronan McManuses were probably from an important Irish dynasty; the O'Conors of Connaught.

The common aspect between my family's YDNA and my family's social history is the idea of 'inheritance'. YDNA represents the biological inheritance, passing from father to son through generations, providing information about genetic connections. On the other hand, my family's social history represents the cultural, historical, and social inheritance experienced by them and passed down through family history, stories, traditions, and experiences. Both aspects contribute to the understanding of my family's past and present, showing how history is transmitted across generations, whether through genes or shared experiences.

That the Kilronan McManuses had likely been part of the O'Conor dynasty only drove me on further to, hopefully, find some evidential answers. I found some in the old annals of Irish history. When genetic genealogy later became available to me, my answers

were proven beyond all reasonable doubt.

By my enthusiastic perseverance in integrating history and science, a nuanced comprehension of the interconnected McManus and O'Conor Don families emerged. Convincing evidence, through comparison with 31 McManus YDNA testers and an O'Conor Don tester indicates their shared descent from a single sept. This synthesis significantly reinforces the credibility of annals documenting the connections between these families, allowing for a more confident interpretation. The lineage of this sept can be meticulously traced throughout Irish history using records from ancient annals, lending heightened authenticity and certainty to these narratives.

Turning to the place study of the McManus clan: in light of the historical evidence, I have found Kilronan exhibited complexity and dissipative structures, socially, economically and culturally, far from equilibrium. An example often cited is the concept of dissipative structures in non-equilibrium thermodynamics, introduced by Ilya Prigogine and others who adapted his work in the social sciences.

These structures arise as a system moves away from equilibrium and self-organizes to enhance its dissipation through various processes.

At times the Kilronan system was in a semi equilibrium state affected by such matters as the slow-moving Gaelic-influenced land system and overpopulation of the land owned by the better off landlords. It had been these matters and the potato blight in the mid 1800s that tipped the balance into non-equilibrium and required my family to move away in order to improve their condition.

The Gaelic-influenced land system in Kilronan before the famine was primarily based on a clan or tribal structure, where land was often held collectively by extended family groups. This system underwent changes during British colonization, leading to the erosion of traditional Gaelic land practices, but the system and those poorer people in it resisted change and clung on to the old ways. The Great Famine in the mid-19th century further disrupted these systems and contributed to significant social and economic transformations.

The history of Kilronan is a complex one. It is about the sensitive dependence on the social, economic, and environmental history of places. These places comprise complex social systems that cannot be described simply by lower order and single components of society. In effect, the Great Famine accelerated changes that were already underway in Ireland's agrarian structure, disrupting the old, persistently hanging-on, Gaelic land system. The chaos that ensued paved the way for more modern, entrepreneurial and landlord-dominated forms of landownership by dispersing inhabitants.

Just as Kilronan's economic and social system had dissipated, requiring John McManus' family to disperse to County Durham, in the 1890s the township of Crook, where he had settled in the 1860s at such a strong economic period, also experienced economic and social upheaval. After 1860, two additional phases can be identified in Crook's history. During these phases many individuals from the Irish community moved to other places. In the case of the families of John McManus it is known that individuals

dissipated to Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Warwickshire, Surrey, and Middlesex. In each case, the motive of change was invariably economic and connected with the coal industry.

In 1874, the price of coal was reduced, prompting coal owners to reduce miner's wages. Living standards deteriorated and a short strike took place, which the miners could not sustain. Further ineffective strikes followed in subsequent years as the price of coal continued to fall. The threat of a fifteen per cent reduction in wages in 1892 resulted in workers taking more concerted strike action over a twelve-week period. When they did return, however, the miners had merely succeeded in achieving the lesser reduction of ten per cent in their wages.

Afterwards, countless workmen gave up their employment, many choosing to emigrate with their families. The 1920's and 1930's saw extreme levels of unemployment in Crook township. In 1938, it was reported that seventy-one per cent of the long-term unemployed in Crook had been without work for five years or more and that it was then, an area that had

for some time been considered as doomed without an industrial future (Pilgrim Trust, 1938). Just like the 'small cause' of potato blight affected population in Ireland, so too the 'small cause' of cheaper coal had resulted in a disastrously large effect on the community in Crook. Coal, which had brought Crook into existence as a thriving industrial town was finally its downfall as an economic attractor.

John's Gaelic cultural origins seemed to resonate in his occupational laisse fare attitude to bettering himself at Crook. He remained a coke drawer for the rest of his working life, the lowliest job in the town. Many of John's family moved away from Crook but John remained for the rest of his life. Support from his family and, on his 70th birthday in 1908, receipt of the Old-Aged Pension provision, introduced for the first time in the UK, meant John's security at Crook was guaranteed.

A short historical account has been given of Kilronan and its complex history within the context of period-changes from pre-industrial times up until the mid 1800s, by which time the community had not fully

shaken off the ghosts of its conservative Gaelic past. Importantly, towards the end of this latter period the Irish famine had intersected with growing opportunities for work in the expanding coal pit towns of County Durham where my great grandfather emigrated to. The small cause of a potato blight in an already unstable system of land ownership and culture, had contributed catastrophically to the social and economic stability of the community.

Accordingly, in seeking to provide a history of Kilronan the influential theme of social change is not a simple one but one where geographically variable complex social systems are inherently 'multi-layered' and 'dissipative' and *globally* affect each other, so changing communities. This is an analysis already alluded to by David Byrne in relation to the Irish Famine period and its social consequences in other places (Byrne, 1996:30-31).

Social historians demonstrate the viability of complex social systems analysis, offering an acceptable means to connect local events, such as those in Kilronan, to a broader worldview. The frame which I have looked

through in this analysis includes not just Kilronan but Crook, County Durham, an economic and survival attractor for thousands, until its demise in a later economic time phase.

My study has emphasised the concept of Inheritance and of *sensitive dependence on initial conditions and small non-linear causes producing disproportionately large effects.* This complex systems approach elevates the significance of local history studies in historiography, although this study does not explicitly make that claim. Instead, it merely suggests a relevant model for more extensive research on historical period changes in distinct yet interconnected geographical areas which, like Kilronan and Crook, influenced each other so fatefully.

APPENDIX 1

Marginal notes abstracted from Boyle Union Workhouse Records (Roscommon, Leitrim Gazette).

2.1.1847. Deaths from starvation all around us. 12 burials per day minimum in Assylin. 20 police arrive here from Dublin to be stationed around the area.

9.1.1847. 200 presented themselves at Carrick on Shannon Workhouse for admission. There were 800 in the workhouse already so 18 were selected and the rest rejected. 40 fever cases and 170 in hospital, only 7-8 died last week.

16.1.1847. Boyle workhouse very short of funds, enough provision for four days. Workhouse unable to support any more people. The fever is contagious and there is no adequate ventilation. Soup kitchens at Drumsna (Rev. F. Kane) and Annaduff (Rev. Shaw and wife). 86 ejectments reported and 2779 civil bill entries.

29.11847. Dysentery and fever in workhouse. 9189 employed on public works in Boyle Barony.

301,1847. Sir Robert Peel reports that there were 420,000 people engaged on public works in Ireland at a cost of £158,000 per week.

6.2.1847. Boyle Workhouse has borrowed £1000 from National Bank which is guaranteed by Guardians. New rate struck in Boyle Union 1 shilling and 6 pence halfpenny.

13.2.1847. Extra sheds are being built to accommodate more people for workhouse. Heavy snow is falling. Timothy Feehily was refused admission to the workhouse, so he broke a window in order to get into jail to obtain food and shelter.

20.2.1847. Reported that 100 persons had been interred in Ardcarne Parish since 1st January.

27.2.1847. 23 families had resided on the farmland of Mr. Plunkett, 2 miles from Boyle, now there are only 6 persons out

of 90 remaining (4 aged). Rev. Mr. Dwyer made out a list of 150 persons looking for work at Cootehall. Some days later 90 were available with 30 of former number dead.

6.3.1847. Reported there are 1100 paupers in Castlerea Workhouse 500 of which are suffering from fever and 200 dysenteries. Carrick on Shannon Workhouse has 800 paupers, 360 in hospital, 210 of which have fever. Boyle Fair showed very little business in comparison with 1846.

13.3.1847. Paupers fed daily on bread and soup. Reports that Castlerea Union is in a bad state – 50 per day died last week.

20.3.1847. 100 gallons of soup distributed daily.

27.3.1847. Oates are 3 shillings a barrel at Boyle Market – much higher that Dublin or Sligo. Sligo Journal Report on emigration from Sligo Port.

3.4.1847. Ships from Sligo to Quebec and New York. There are reported to be 64 vessels in the quay in Sligo mainly bringing in provisions from America. With all these foodstuffs coming in market prices must drop to a realistic level.

10.4.1847. Dr. O'Farrell's half year report on the Boyle Workhouse printed and interesting according to the newspaper.

24.4.1847. Extra rates being struck to meet the needs of the poor.

1.5.1847. Lord Lorton resigned from the Board of Guardians after disagreement with Poor Law Commissioners over additional loan to Union of £2000 which had not been agreed to. Workhouse not accepting any more admissions.

22.5.1847. The National Bank has refused a loan of £2000 to the Union. Fever reported in Barracks, the Army took over a house in Main St. for a hospital and the locals are anxious. A coffin costs 4 shillings and eight pence.

19.6.1847. Entire families are being swept away. 15 bodies are awaiting burial after three weeks at Slevinroe.

26.6.1847. 7078 have sailed from Sligo to US Canada and New Brunswick since 5.4.1847.

3.7.1847. It is regretted that the Centre for distribution to the poor is in Main Street. An old brewery yard nearby would be more appropriate.

10.7.1847. Carrick on Shannon Union is reported to be £4000 in debt. The Guardians of Boyle and Carrick on Shannon are no longer prepared to give guarantees for loans.

17.7.1847. Crops appear good. Only 247 persons reported in Carrick House.

7.8.1847. 400 qualified to vote in the County but when the pauper tenants (those obliged to seek support) are counted the figure is 100 (300 pauper tenants).

28.8.1847. Fever on decrease. House reported half full.

11.9.1847. Temporary relief now closed in Union. List of sums advanced on credit by Relief Commissioners – Boyle £13,346.

25.9.1847. Report of Boyle Union. Unable to collect rates.

20.11.1847. Threatening letters to rate collectors reported in area.

327.11.1847. 329 in Carrick Workhouse, fever sheds removed.

11.12.1847. More police requested for area.

8.1.1848. 100 persons rejected admission to the Union Workhouse. Capt. Wynn to come from Carrick to help poor children.

29.1.1848. Capt. Wynn put in charge of British Relief Association. Fund to aid children in Boyle. A bakery to be set up – children to benefit: 6-9 yo. 8oz. Bread; 9-11 yo. 10 oz. Bread; 11-14 yo. 12 oz. Bread.800 in Carrick Workhouse, Outdoor Relief 2500.

26.2.1848. The house of Edward Fry, The Crescent, broken into and meat and butter stolen.

11.3.1848. Destitution in town and area becoming worse.

18.3.1848. Letter to tenants from Lord Lorton telling them not to parade on St. Patrick's Day. Event went off quietly.

1.4.1848. Capt. Wynn arranged distribution of bread to 34 schools locally.

8.4.1848. Area breakdown given of poor law stats.

29.4.1848. Poor Law Commissioners lay down guidelines for outdoor relief including each person relieved to give 10 hours work each day, as far as possible cooked food instead of money to be given, no person can get relief if a person in the same family is employed.

6.5.1848. Poor Law Commissioners dissolve the Boyle Board of Guardians. 950 in Carrick Workhouse and additional buildings created or workhouse. 40,129 is total population of Boyle Barony.

13.5.1848. The Vice Guardians had not yet been appointed. £1,200 in the account which cannot be utilized as a consequence and the house is in a terrible state due to this.

20.5.1848. Vice Guardians now discharging their duty. Mr. K. Moone and Mr. H.D. Spratt plus 9 assistants appointed as relieving officers at £20 per annum. Able bodied paupers will now be employed breaking stones. The potato crop appears to be healthy. Vice Guardians criticized because there has been no improvement locally.

3.6.1848. Pauperism on the increase in the Union. Capt. Wynn distributed clothing to 69 local schools. Carrick has 11600 on outdoor relief.

17.6.1848. Reported that the potato crop will be good this year.

24.6.1848. The British Relief Association say that 3500 children,

one third of entire population, in Boyle Union on charity.

8.7.1848. 200 ejectment cases at Carrick on Shannon Sessions.

15.7.1848. Carrick Union – 20 deaths mainly aged, 13489 on outdoor relief.

29.7.1848. The Workhouse is a hive of industry, spinning, weaving tailoring. Guardians praised for their actions, determined that none shall die in the Union for want of food but at the same time will check abuse and get the able bodies working.

5.8.1848. It is anticipated there will be a reduction in those on outdoor relief soon.

12.8.1848. Outdoor relief number reduced by 5901. This number offered tickets to workhouse and declined. Then taken off the list.

2.9.1848. Space for 200 additional paupers reported. Boyle Vice Guardians determined to enforce the rates.

16.9.1848. Potatoes are getting more diseased every day. A plea goes out to the authorities to exert themselves to avoid loss of life as the land will not be able to support the destitute. Praise for Vice Guardians; 131 left the workhouse of their own accord last week.

14.10.1848. 80 ejectments and number of larceny cases at Boyle Quarter Sessions.

21.10.1848. Mention of huge emigration

18.11.1848. Debt of £3000 is nearly paid off by vice Guardians – incurred by previous guardians. No able-bodied persons are receiving relief – mainly widows and orphans. Expenditure being kept within the budget.

25.11.1848. Cost for outdoor relief for one week £100.16.10. Cost of paupers in house £66.2.8. Cost for each pauper 1s 1 penny farthing. Rate lodged during the week £694.17. 3.. Balance

in hand £1851.17.1.

5.12.1848. 30 healthy and strong females between the ages of 14-18 from Boyle workhouse going to Australia at government expense.

9.12.1848. 100 including women and children turned away from the workhouse.

16.12.1848. Castlerea workhouse and auxiliary house contain over 3000. 30 persons a week dying.

30.12.1848. Fraud at Carrick Workhouse. 97 paupers on books drawing food but after examination these could not be found. Lord Lorton is suppling destitute poor with free clothing and blankets during the Christmas Season.

6.1.1849. Outdoor relief in electoral areas: Balinameen 410; Balinafad 410; Croghan 375. Thorough cleansing of Boyle Town to take place, lanes filthy and calculated to bring disease and death. An auxiliary workhouse was opened in Knockvicar to cope with 300-400 more persons.

20.1.1849. Total expenses of workhouse £202.19.2.

27.1.1849. Total expenses for the Union for week: £224.10.2 and three farthings. Emigration from Londonderry port 1847 – 12383, 1848 7076.

10.3.1849. Carrick Union: 1516, 10 deaths, 7140 outdoor relief. A man called Cooney beaten and killed while conveying Indian Corn to Mulhalls shop in Boyle.

14.4.1849. Town being cleared up. Guardians preparing for cholera. Carrick: 1551 in house, 14 deaths, 135 in hospital, 5467 outdoor relief to paupers.

21.4.1849. Instruction on cholera given in paper.

5.5.1849. Lord Lorton prints and publishes a notice to his tenants – abatement of 4s in the £ of rents.

12.5.1849. Report that just before the potato failure an offer of £51,000 had been made for the Duke of Buckingham's Estate in County Clare. It was refused. The property had been sold in 1848 to an unknown person for £30,000.

19.5.1849. At this time there were 3308 in the Sligo Workhouse.

26.5.1849. Reported that there had been 113 deaths in the Workhouse in Fermoy, Co. Cork the previous week.

9.6.1849. The persons in the Workhouse and those on outdoor relief amount to one quarter of the entire population of the Union. In Carrick Union there were 1913 in the house, 7347 outdoor relief and 120 in hospital.

23.6.1849. A picnic on Castle Island, on the Rockingham Estate was reported – 60 persons attending, and Mr. Leyland of the Royal Hotel is preparing the event.

7.7.1849. Sligo Workhouse 4071; Carrick 1744. Ships to leave Sligo bound for New York and Quebec this month.

11.8.1849. Queen Victoria visits Ireland.

18.8.1849. Stealing cows now a commonplace offence. Sergeant Duncan recovered a cow from the back room of the house of John McCue, Cloonough, which had been earlier stolen from Mr. Maguire the Vicar of Boyle. Sligo – 2881 in house and 7338 on outdoor relief.

25.8.1859. Report of Cholera in Sligo Hospital 26 deaths since 17. 7. In the Sligo Workhouse there have been the following from Cholera since the 10th.: 214 cases in total, 86 died, 68 cured.

29.9.1849. First case of cholera reported at Roscommon Town on 15/8 and to date there have been 115 cases, 69 deaths 28 recovered and only 2 deaths the last 8 days – both aged women (figures include the workhouse). No cholera reported in Boyle.

28.10.1849. At Boyle Quarter Sessions there were 340 civil bills, 30 ejectments, 48 appeals (including 41 Poor Law Rates)

3.11.1849. In Boyle Union this year to 29.9. – 413 yards of linen manufactured, 43 yards of towels, 193 yards of flannel, 259 yards of frieze, 95 yards of diaper, 393 bed ticks, 754 sheets, 270 men's jackets, 131 waist coats,437 trousers, 369 shirts, 610 woollen wrappers, 660 petticoats, 558 shifts, 286 aprons, 236 handkerchiefs, 168 boys' jackets, 168 boys' trousers, 667 girls petticoats, 527 girls shifts, 140 girls aprons, - 7560 articles in all.

APPENDIX 2

The following abstracts are from the Police Reports of some of the principal outrages which occurred in the Parish of Kilronan in the year 1845:

> At 11 pm on 22nd. May 1845 a party of about twelve men, some of whom were armed, attacked and entered the house of John Powell in the Townland of Dereendooey, near Ballyfarnon. The men demanded money, but Powell refused to give them any, whereupon they 'beat him cruelly and compelled him to give them 10 shillings' which they carried away.
>
> On the 31st. May 1845. in the Townland of Lurgan, Mary Lee was violently assaulted by ……. in consequence of an altercation which arose between them, '……from the effects of which her life is in danger'.
>
> Between 8pm and 10 pm on the 19th. June 1845, in the Townland of Shrabragan and Shaunoonan, offences were committed against Miles Gaffeny and Michael Ginhan and his wife, and another man named Michael Ginhan. An armed party of five men forcibly entered Gaffney's house and searched it for arms. They found a gun and carried it away. They then entered the house of Michael Ginhan and from there they also took a gun. They proceeded to Michael Ginhan's dwelling and having ineffectually searched for arms swore his wife to send some money to Edward McCabe, which it appears, that he and her husband had been disputing about.
>
> 19th. June 1845. Barony of Boyle. Townland of Lurgan. Injured Party, William Lee. About 8 o'clock pm five armed men entered Lee's house and swore him not to prosecute Michael Gilhooley, who had violently assaulted Lee's wife some time previous to the occurrence stated. Offence: Unlawfully administering an oath.

20th. June 1845. Barony of Boyle. Townland of Keadue East. Injured Party, Thomas Benson. About 10 o'clock pm three persons went to Benson's dwelling and having rapped at his bedroom window, demanded his arms, and threatened if refused, to set fire to the house. Benson's wife then handed out, through a broken pane, one gun and an old sword. Offence: Robbery of arms.

24th. June 1845. Barony of Boyle. Townland of Dereenavoggy. Injured Party, Michael McManus. This night a person unknown went to McManus' dwelling and demanded arms, whereupon he handed him out his gun, without making any resistance. Offence: Robbery of arms.

29th. June 1845. Barony of Boyle. Townlands of Dereeniska, Knockadryan and Dereenavoggy. Injured Parties, Stephen Bohan, Charles Reynolds and Robert Early. This night a party of persons, unknown, some of whom were armed, went to Bohan's dwelling and seriously assaulting him, swore him to support John Tobens (his brother-in-law) and family. Said party subsequently attacked the dwelling of Charles Reynolds and warned him to agree with his brother. Said party thereafter went to the house of Robert Early and demanded arms. Offences: Two house attacks. Demand of arms.

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